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INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS SITUATION REPORT [REDACTED] DI IN SITREP 90-005

MAY 1990

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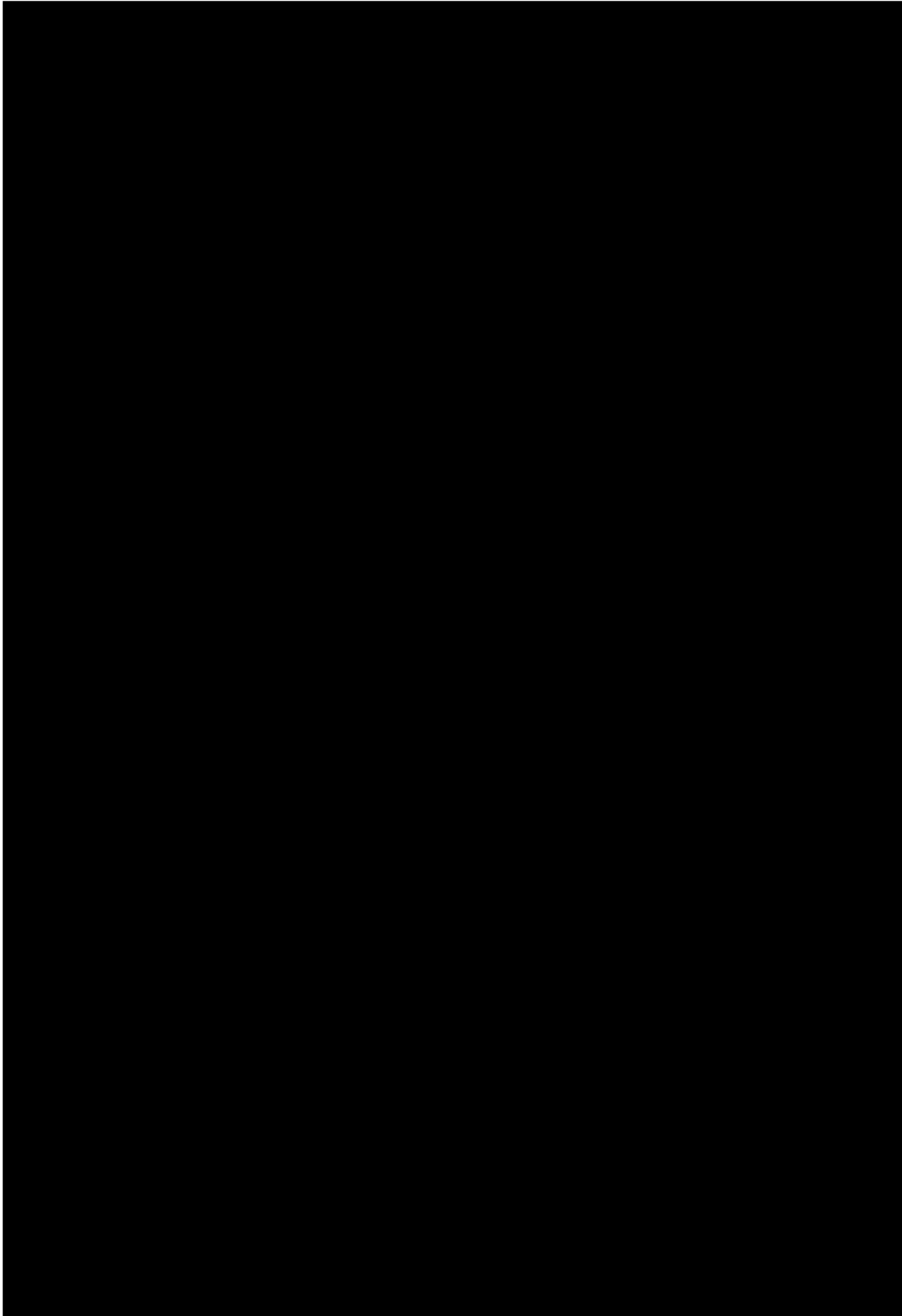
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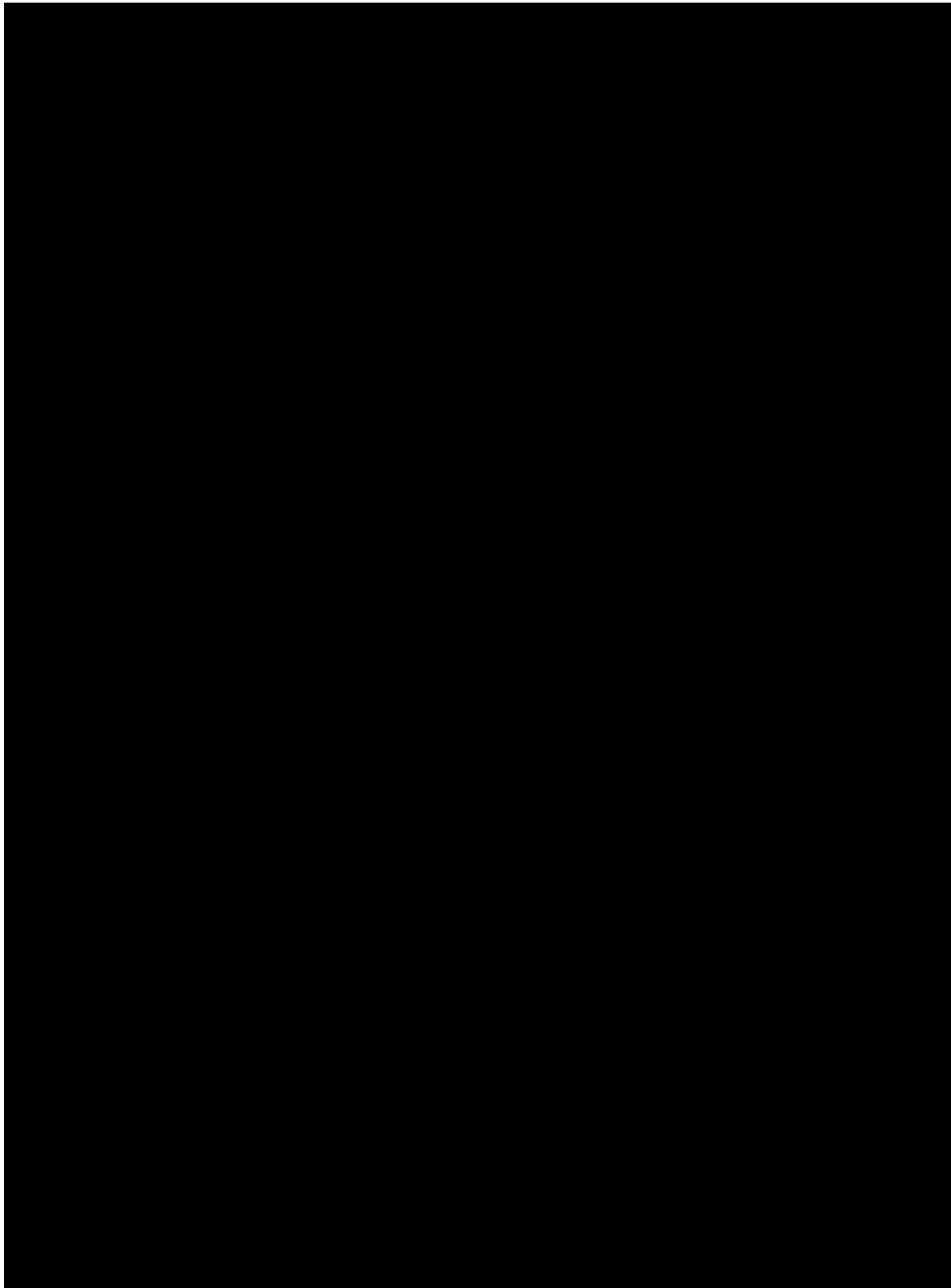
ITEM 2: COLOMBIA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE NEW NARCOTICS
CHALLENGE [REDACTED]

ITEM 3: NARCOTICS IN PERU: A TOUGH ROAD AHEAD (C NE)

[REDACTED]

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ITEM 2: COLOMBIA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE NEW NARCOTICS
CHALLENGE [REDACTED]

SINCE THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT LAUNCHED ITS ANTIDRUG OFFENSIVE IN MID-AUGUST, NARCOTICS HAS BECOME THE DOMINANT POLITICAL ISSUE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. HELPED BY THE ENSUING ATTACK-COUNTERATTACK TACTICS OF SECURITY FORCES ON THE ONE HAND AND THE TRAFFICKERS ON THE OTHER, THE DRUG ISSUE'S POLITICAL IMPACT WILL BE UNDERScoreD BY THE 27 MAY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. THAT CONTEST IS NOT ONLY PROMPTING A HIGH LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY BUT WILL ALSO IN PART DETERMINE THE COURSE OF COLOMBIA'S FUTURE ANTIDRUG CAMPAIGN. [REDACTED]

THE CATALYST FOR THE CRACKDOWN WAS ITSELF POLITICAL: THE ASSASSINATION OF POPULAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE LUIS CARLOS GALAN ON 18 AUGUST, AN ACT THAT FOLLOWED NUMEROUS ATTACKS BY DRUG INTERESTS ON COLOMBIA'S JUDICIARY AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS. ALTHOUGH TRAFFICKER VIOLENCE, PROPAGANDA, AND OTHER TACTICS HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY STIRRED OPPOSITION TO THE CRACKDOWN, PRESIDENT VIRGILIO BARCO HAS RETAINED SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO SUSTAIN IT. AT THIS POINT, THE SECURITY FORCES REMAIN COMMITTED TO APPREHENDING PABLO ESCOBAR AND OTHER TOP TRAFFICKERS, THE SUPREME COURT HAS NOT YIELDED TO PLOYS TO OVERTURN THE EXTRAORDINARY DECREES THAT EMPOWER BOGOTA TO EXTRADITE TRAFFICKERS AND SEIZE THEIR PROPERTIES, AND MANY ELEMENTS OF THE PRESS CONTINUE TO REJECT TRAFFICKER ENTREATIES FOR ACCOMMODATION; INSTEAD, THEY ARE DEMANDING STERN GOVERNMENT ACTION AGAINST THE NARCOTICS TRADE. [REDACTED]

THE POLITICAL SETTING

THE ELECTION COMES AT A TIME WHEN COLOMBIA'S ANTI- NARCOTICS OFFENSIVE IS GAINING INTERNATIONAL RESPECT. PRESIDENT BARCO, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS RECENTLY FOLLOWED HIS SUCCESSFUL FEBRUARY ANTIDRUG

SUMMIT WITH THE US, BOLIVIAN, AND PERUVIAN PRESIDENTS IN COLOMBIA WITH AN EQUALLY EFFECTIVE VISIT TO EUROPE. THESE EFFORTS HAVE PRODUCED SUBSTANTIAL COMMITMENTS OF ANTINARCOTICS ASSISTANCE FOR COLOMBIA, INCLUDING SOME \$180 MILLION RECENTLY PLEDGED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES. EQUALLY REWARDING, FROM COLOMBIA'S POINT OF VIEW, HAS BEEN THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION THAT CONSUMER AND TRANSIT COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THE ANDEAN PRODUCERS, SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OVERALL COCAINE PROBLEM. IN OUR JUDGMENT, BOTH ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE HELPED SOMEWHAT TO ASSUAGE CONCERNS IN COLOMBIA THAT IT HAS CARRIED AN UNFAIR BURDEN IN THE DRUG WAR. [REDACTED]

DOMESTICALLY, MEANWHILE, TRAFFICKER PROPAGANDA AND VIOLENCE HAVE HELPED FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE ANTIDRUG OFFENSIVE AND ELEVATE IT INTO A LEADING CAMPAIGN ISSUE. THE TRAFFICKERS HAVE STAGED A NUMBER OF HIGH-PROFILE STUNTS--SUCH AS SURRENDERING LABORATORIES, DYNAMITE, AND AIRCRAFT--IN A BID TO MAKE THEIR OFFER TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE DRUG WAR APPEAR SINCERE AND, IN SO DOING, TO SHIFT THE ONUS FOR DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE ONTO THE SECURITY FORCES. NEVERTHELESS, THEY CONTINUE ATTACKS AIMED AT CRIPPLING THE ABILITY AND SAPPING THE MORALE OF THE SECURITY AGENCIES, AS REFLECTED, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THEIR RECENT KILLING OF DOZENS OF ELITE AND OTHER NATIONAL POLICE OFFICERS IN MEDELLIN IN RESPONSE TO ALLEGED GOVERNMENT ATROCITIES AGAINST DRUG INTERESTS. IN ADDITION, ALTHOUGH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ASSASSINATIONS OF LEFTIST PATRIOTIC UNION (UP) PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE BERNARDO JARAMILLO IN MARCH AND M-19 CANDIDATE LEON PIZARRO GOMEZ IN APRIL ARE UNCLEAR, THE ACTS HIGHLIGHTED THE CONTINUING VULNERABILITY OF COLOMBIA'S LEADING POLITICIANS TO VIOLENCE. [REDACTED]

AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, THE COURSE OF ANTINARCOTICS POLICY HAS EMERGED AS A CENTRAL CAMPAIGN ISSUE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A COLOMBIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. THE CONTINUED HIGH PROFILE OF THE DRUG WAR IS INCREASINGLY FORCING COLOMBIANS TO WEIGH THE THREAT OF AN UNCHECKED DRUG TRADE ON COLOMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ON ONE HAND AGAINST THE SOCIOECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COSTS OF SUSTAINING THE CRACKDOWN ON THE OTHER. THE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE FRONTRUNNING LIBERAL CANDIDATE AND HIS SOCIAL CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGER ON THE DRUG PROBLEM UNDERSCORES THE GROWING POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE. [REDACTED]

THE KEY PLAYERS

WE BELIEVE THAT THE RULING LIBERAL PARTY CANDIDATE, CESAR GAVIRIA, OFFERS THE BEST PROSPECTS OF A CONTINUATION OF BARCO'S TOUGH ANTINARCOTICS POLICIES UNDER THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION. AS GALAN'S PROTEGE, GAVIRIA HANDILY WON THE LIBERAL PARTY PRIMARY IN MARCH AND EMERGED AS THE CLEAR FRONTRUNNER FOR THE MAY CONTEST, [REDACTED] ALTHOUGH HIS APPEAL STEMS LARGELY FROM HIS ASSOCIATION WITH GALAN, INDEPENDENCE FROM COLOMBIA'S TRADITIONAL POLITICAL BROKERS, AND YOUTH, GAVIRIA'S STRONG ANTIDRUG VIEWS HAVE NEVERTHELESS SET HIM APART FROM HIS COMPETITORS. AS REFLECTED IN [REDACTED] PRESS REPORTING, HE SEES THE NARCOTICS TRADE AS A FUNDAMENTALLY VIOLENT INDUSTRY THAT POSES AN INTRINSIC THREAT TO COLOMBIA'S SECURITY. THIS PERCEPTION HAS MADE GAVIRIA A

DEFENDER OF THE CRACKDOWN, EVEN AS OPPORTUNISTS WITHIN HIS PARTY AS WELL AS OPPONENTS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF BARCO'S REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH DRUG INTERESTS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ANTIDRUG OFFENSIVE. [REDACTED]

THE TARGET OF TRAFFICKER THREATS EARLY IN THE PRIMARY, GAVIRIA HAS EVOLVED A POLITICAL STRATEGY THAT ATTEMPTS TO AVOID DRAMATIZING THE NARCOTICS ISSUE. TO THIS END, HE HAS STRESSED THE NEED FOR JUDICIAL REFORM, A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM, AND INCREASED EMPLOYMENT AS THE MAJOR THEMES OF HIS CAMPAIGN. NEVERTHELESS, HIS POSITIONS AND ACTIONS SUGGEST THAT AN ADMINISTRATION UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP WOULD KEEP ANTINARCOTICS EFFORTS FOCUSED ON DISMANTLING COLOMBIA'S POWERFUL DRUG NETWORKS BY APPREHENDING THE TOP TRAFFICKERS AND THEIR LIEUTENANTS. FOR INSTANCE, GAVIRIA CONTINUES TO BACK THE USE OF EXTRADITION IN THE ABSENCE OF A STRONG JUDICIARY, EVEN THOUGH HE--LIKE MANY INFLUENTIAL COLOMBIANS AND A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC--VIEWS THE POLICY AS AN AFFRONT TO COLOMBIA'S SOVEREIGNTY. GAVIRIA'S PRAGMATIC, TOUGH APPROACH WITH REGARD TO EXTRADITION IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS ADVOCACY OF THIS TACTIC AND ASSET SEIZURE WHILE HE SERVED AS BARCO'S MINISTER OF FINANCE AND MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT. THE CURRENT EFFECTIVENESS OF THESE MEASURES, ACCORDING TO GAVIRIA, IS REFLECTED BY THE TRAFFICKERS' OFFER TO 'SURRENDER,' WHICH HE VIEWS AS A TACIT ADMISSION THAT THEIR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE HAS BEEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. HE RECENTLY UNDERScoreD HIS BACKING FOR THE CRACKDOWN BY DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO EXTRADITE BASED ON THE STATE-OF-SIEGE POWERS GRANTED TO THE PRESIDENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. [REDACTED]

IN CONTRAST, GAVIRIA'S OPPONENTS HAVE STAKED THEIR CAMPAIGNS ON ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTINARCOTICS POLICIES IN AN EFFORT TO PUT GAVIRIA ON THE DEFENSIVE AND OVERCOME HIS LARGE LEAD IN THE POLLS. FOR EXAMPLE, LEADING SOCIAL CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE RODRIGO LLOREDA RECENTLY USED HIS NOMINATING SPEECH TO REVERSE HIS SUPPORT FOR BARCO'S CRACKDOWN, [REDACTED] MAKING THE NEED TO REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WITH THE TRAFFICKERS A MAJOR CAMPAIGN ISSUE, HE HAS CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE END TO EXTRADITION. SUCH NATIONALISTICALLY ORIENTED TACTICS, WE BELIEVE, ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE AND PLAY ON COLOMBIA'S PENCHANT TO SETTLE NETTLESOME PROBLEMS THROUGH DIALOGUE--A STRATEGY ALSO USED BY THE TRAFFICKERS. [REDACTED]

OTHER CANDIDATES HAVE ALSO SEIZED ON NARCOTICS TO ENTER THE RACE AT THE LAST MINUTE, MOVES THAT HAVE LED TO FURTHER FRAGMENTATION OF THE OPPOSITION AND SOLIDIFICATION OF GAVIRIA'S LEAD. VENERABLE SOCIAL CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGNER ALVARO GOMEZ, FOR INSTANCE, RECENTLY DECLARED HIS CANDIDACY WITH AN EVEN MORE STRIDENT ATTACK ON THE DRUG CRACKDOWN. HE HAS PROPOSED NOT ONLY A PARDON FOR ALL TRAFFICKERS BUT ALSO THE LEGALIZATION OF THE DRUG TRADE. [REDACTED]

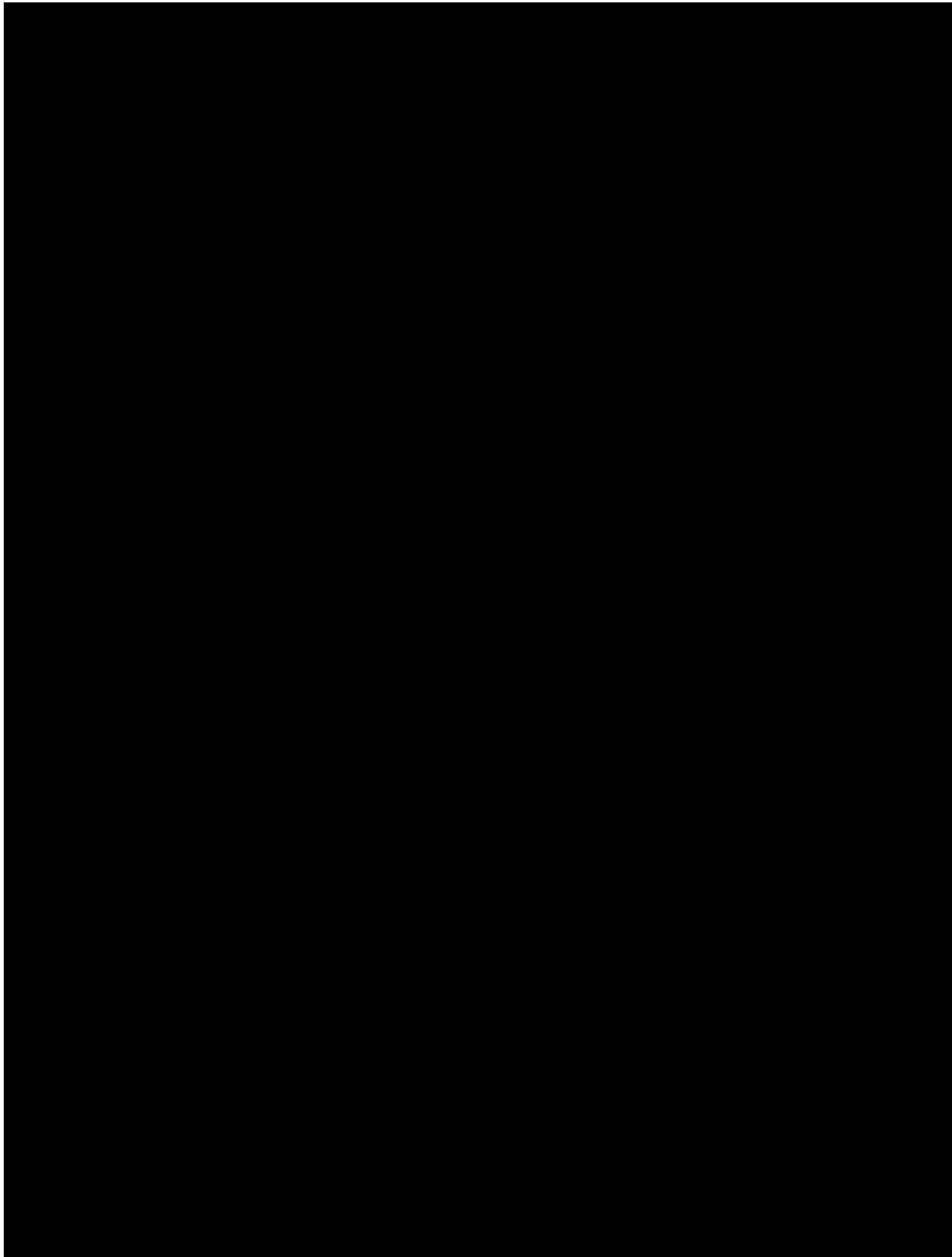
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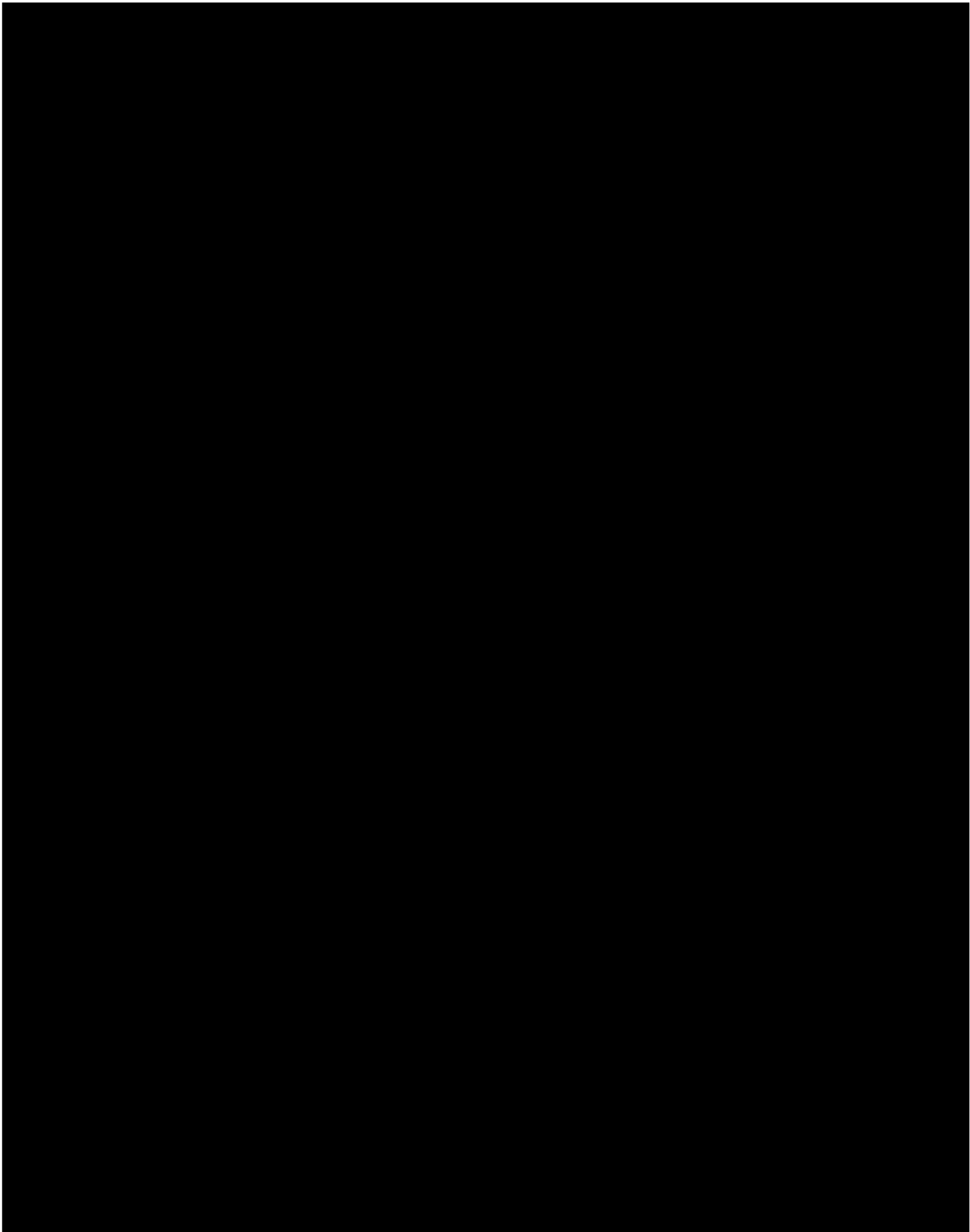
WE BELIEVE THAT THE CAMPAIGN HAS SET THE STAGE FOR AN INTENSIFIED POLITICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN DRUG INTERESTS AND THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION. ALTHOUGH THE PROBABLE GAVIRIA VICTORY WOULD PROVIDE THE BEST CHANCE OF A CONTINUATION OF THE BARCO GOVERNMENT'S TOUGH

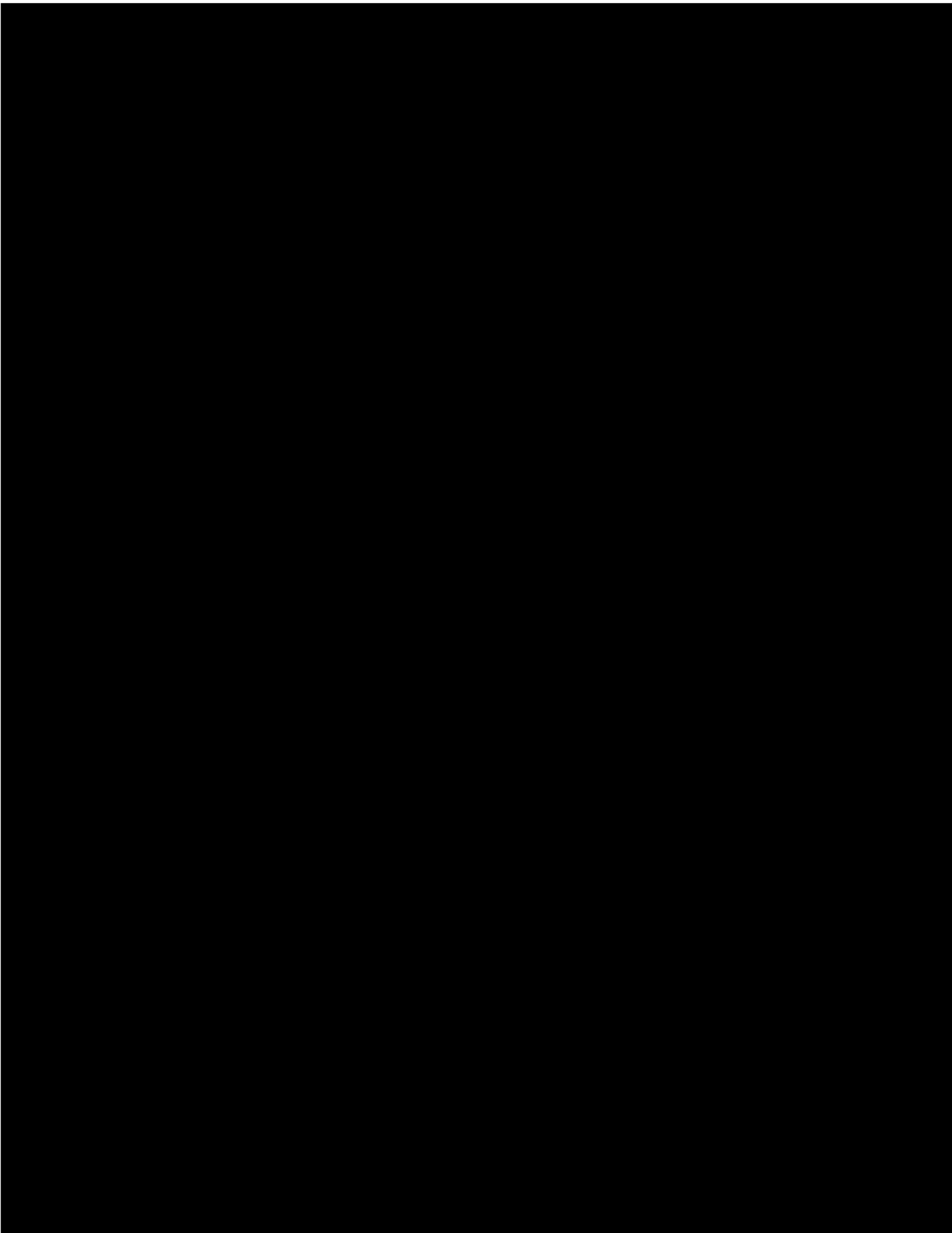
ANTI- NARCOTICS POLICIES, TRAFFICKERS HAVE USED THE ELECTION PROCESS TO STRENGTHEN TIES TO OFFICIALS IN CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE WHO THEY EXPECT TO PROMOTE THEIR INTERESTS WHEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE IN AUGUST. [REDACTED]

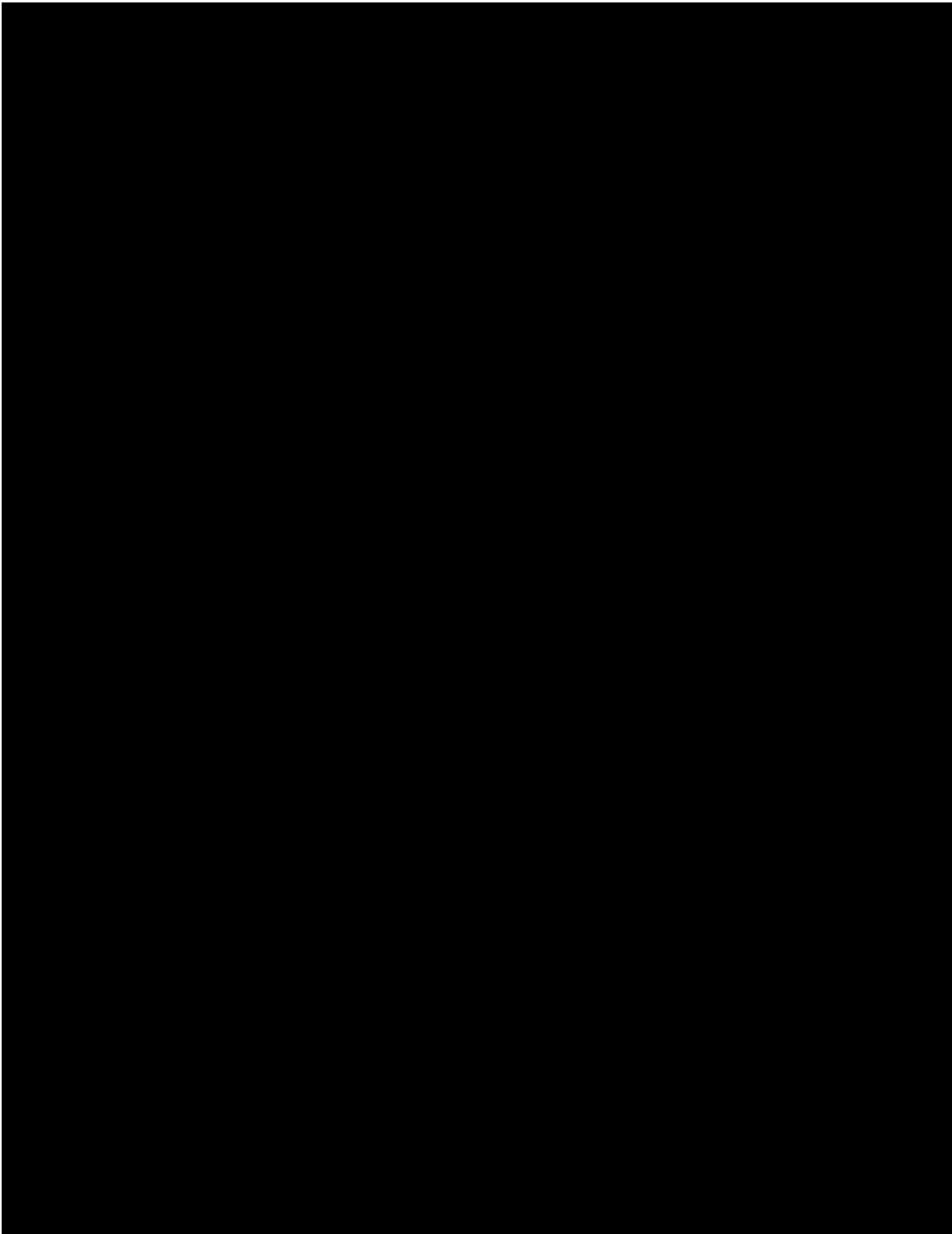
IF ELECTED, GAVIRIA FACES THE CHALLENGE OF TRYING TO EXECUTE HIS LONG-TERM POLITICAL REFORMS WITHOUT UNDERCUTTING THE COUNTERNARCOTICS OFFENSIVE. IN THIS REGARD, DRUG INTERESTS MAY ATTEMPT TO SHIFT THE THRUST OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFENSIVE AWAY FROM THE SECURITY FORCES--WHERE THEY HAVE SUFFERED A NUMBER OF SETBACKS-- TO THE JUDICIARY, WHERE THEY CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE ADVANTAGE. TRAFFICKERS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE LIKELY TO WORK QUIETLY TO IMPLEMENT MUCH-NEEDED JUDICIAL REFORM AND EVEN THE CREATION OF SPECIALIZED COURTS TO TRY THE MOST VIOLENT CRIMINALS, IF BY DOING SO THEY CAN PREMATURELY ABROGATE EXTRADITION. ANOTHER POTENTIAL CONFLICT LIES IN THE STRONG SUPPORT VOTERS EXPRESSED DURING THE MARCH ELECTIONS FOR A REFERENDUM ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. GAVIRIA BACKS THIS MOVEMENT AND IS LIKELY TO CONVOKE SUCH AN ASSEMBLY SHORTLY AFTER TAKING OFFICE, ACCORDING TO THE US EMBASSY. TRAFFICKERS HAVE LONG SOUGHT TO CAPITALIZE ON SUCH AN OPENING--AND NEARLY SUCCEEDED IN DOING SO LAST DECEMBER--BY USING A NATIONAL REFERENDUM TO HAVE EXTRADITION DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL. [REDACTED]

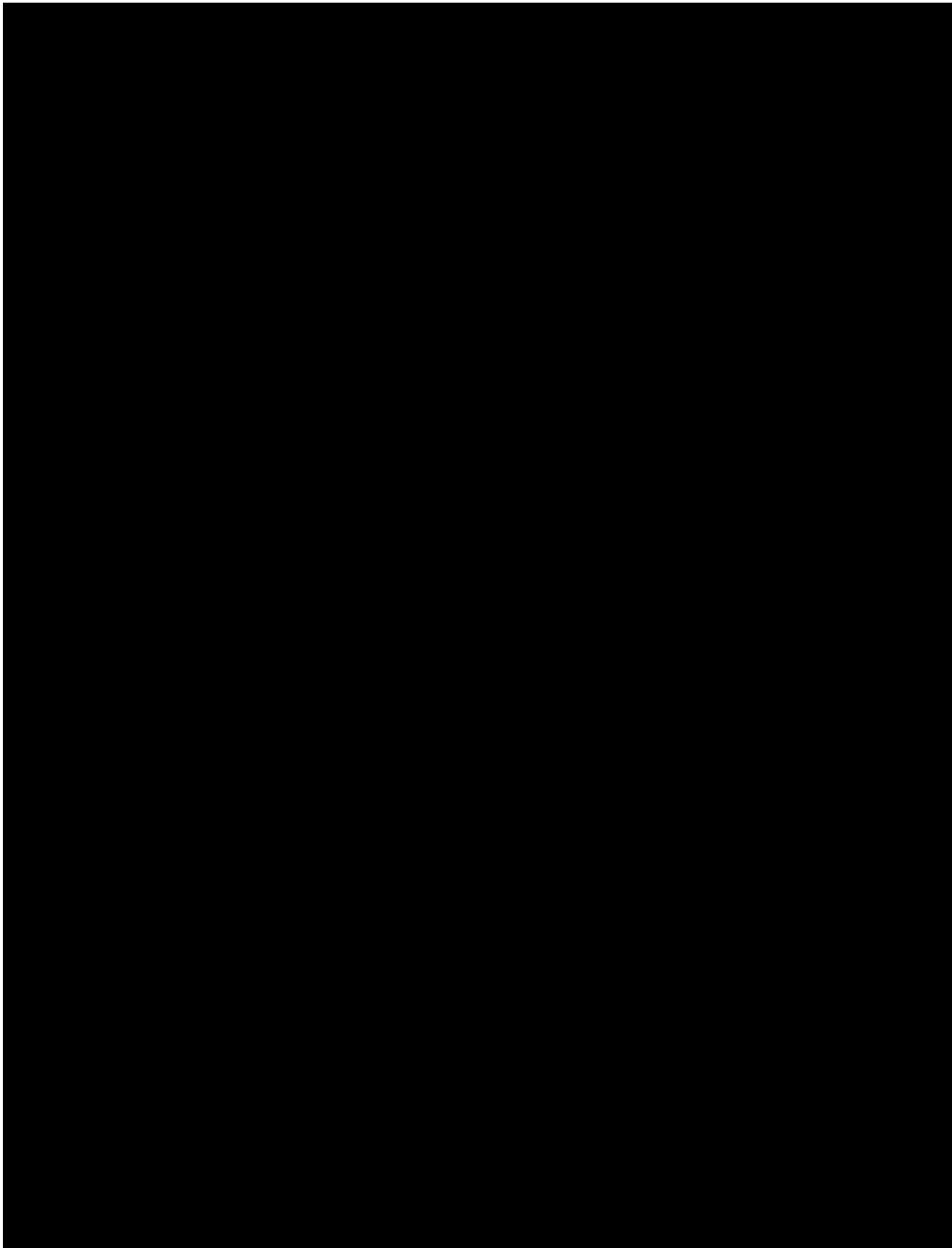
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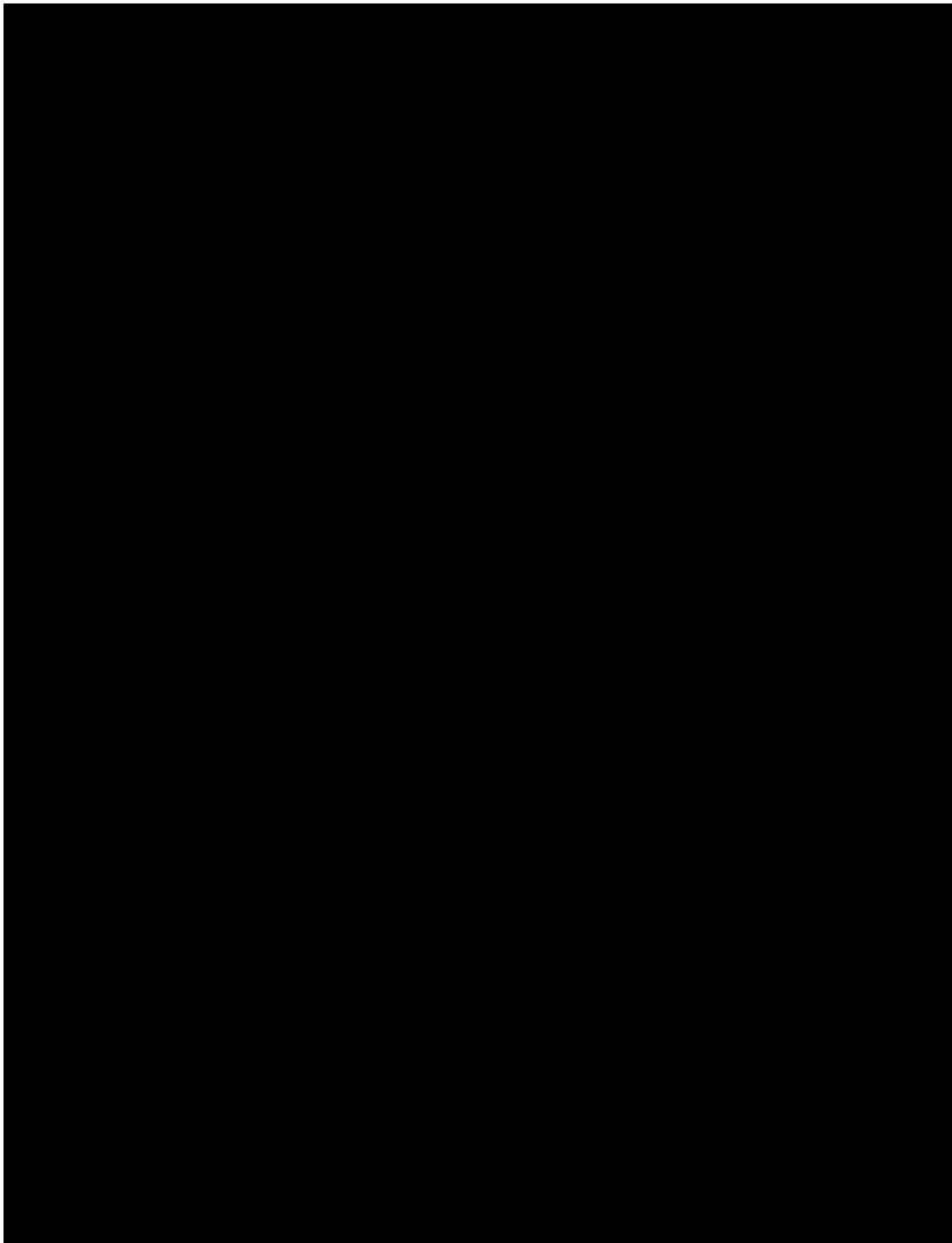




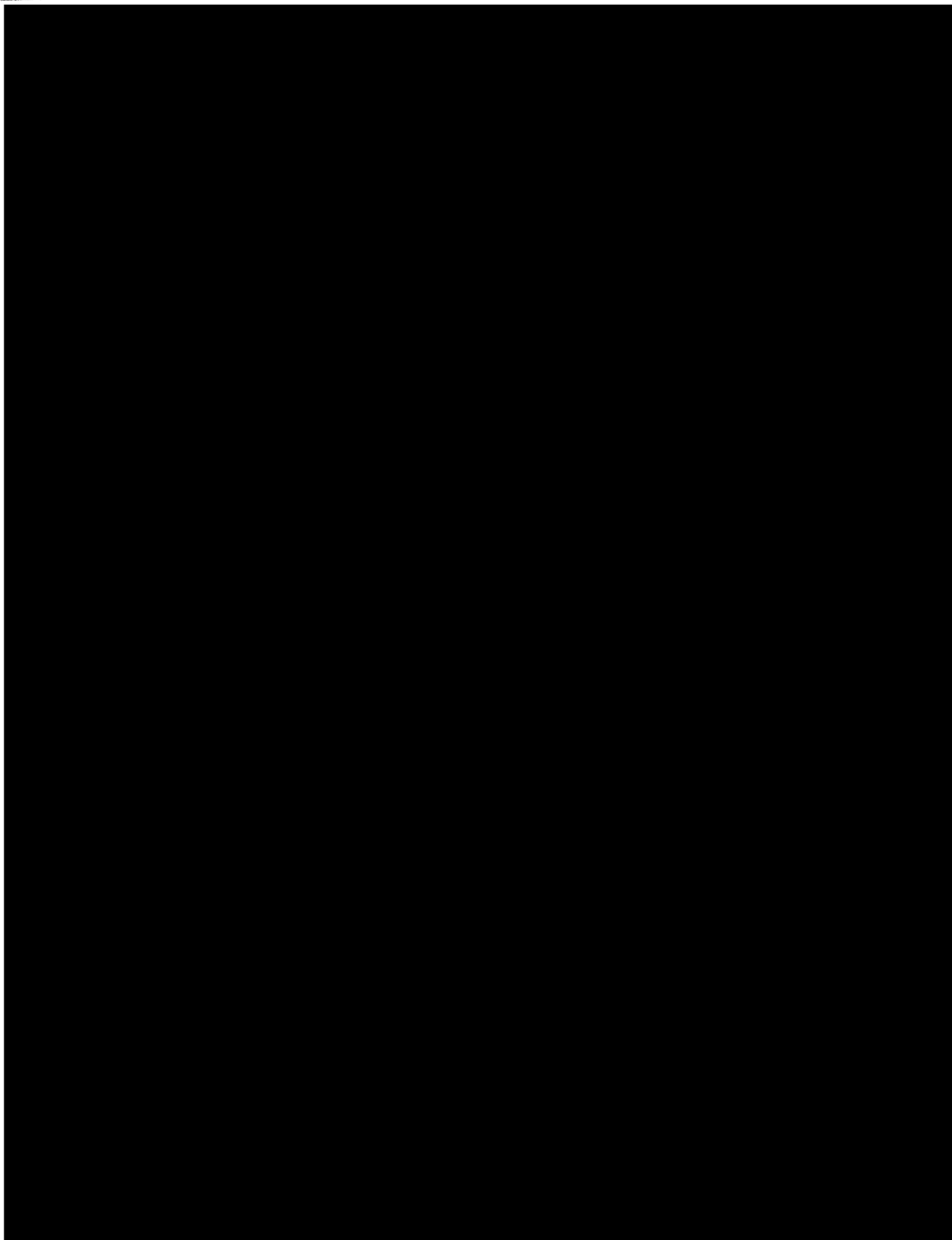


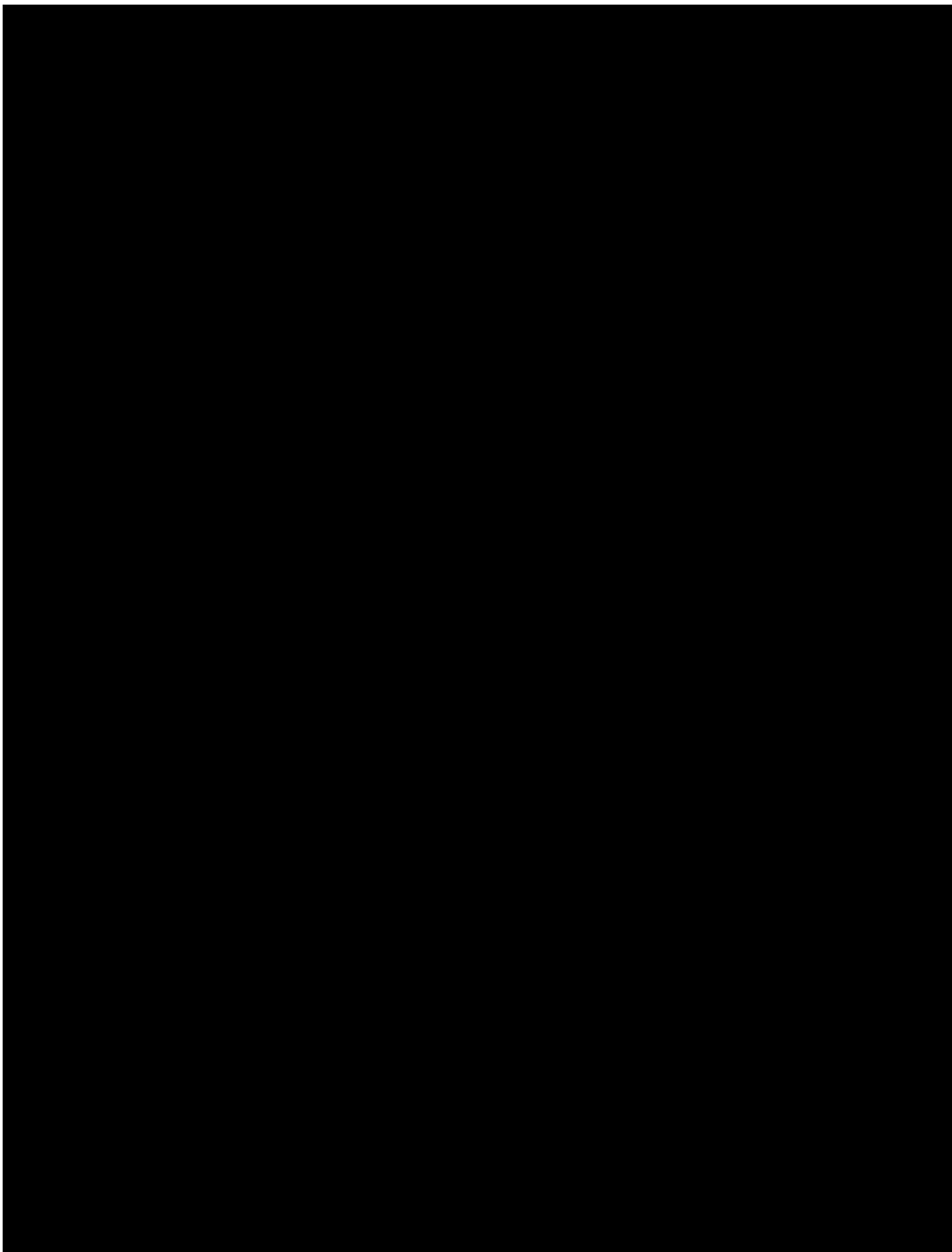


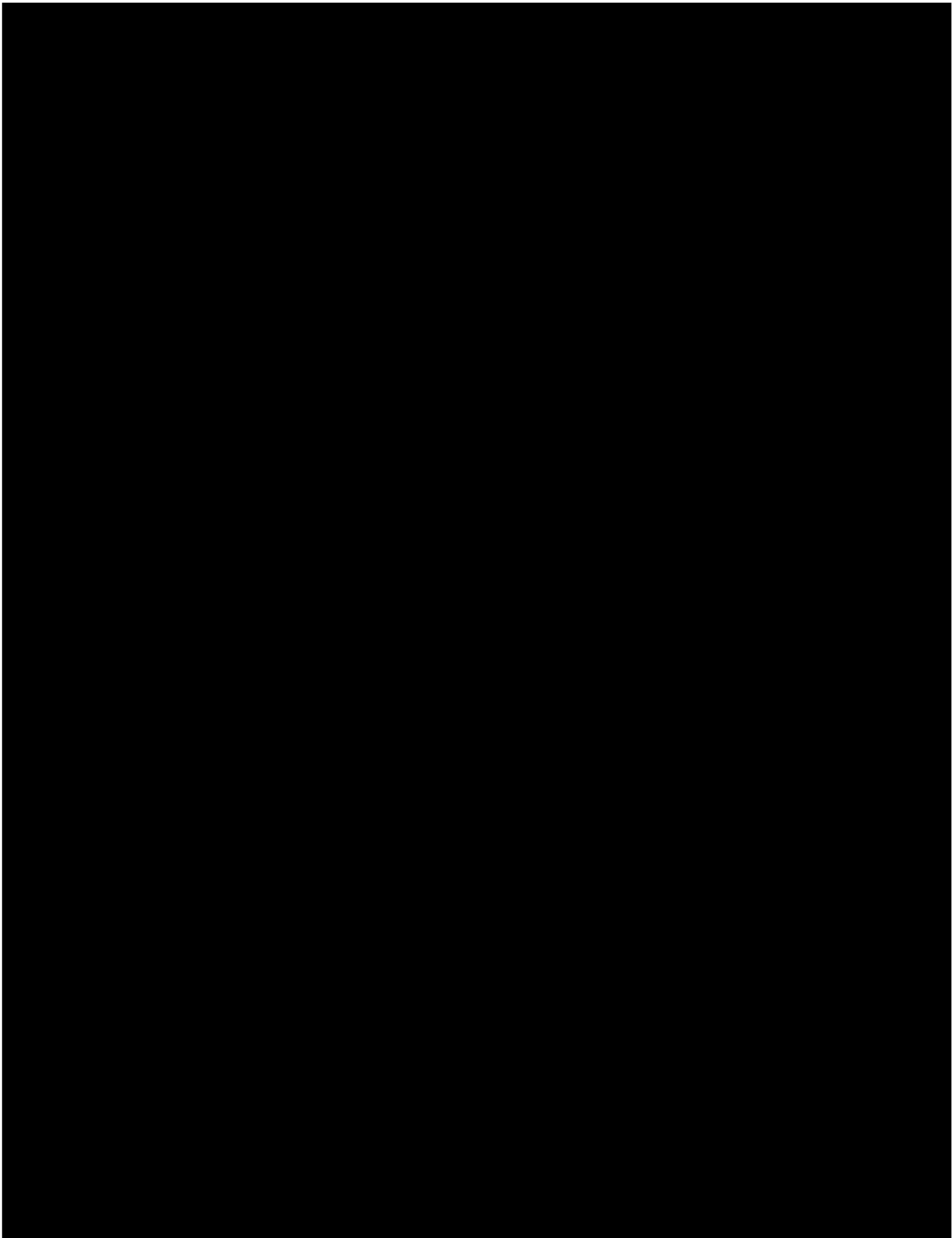


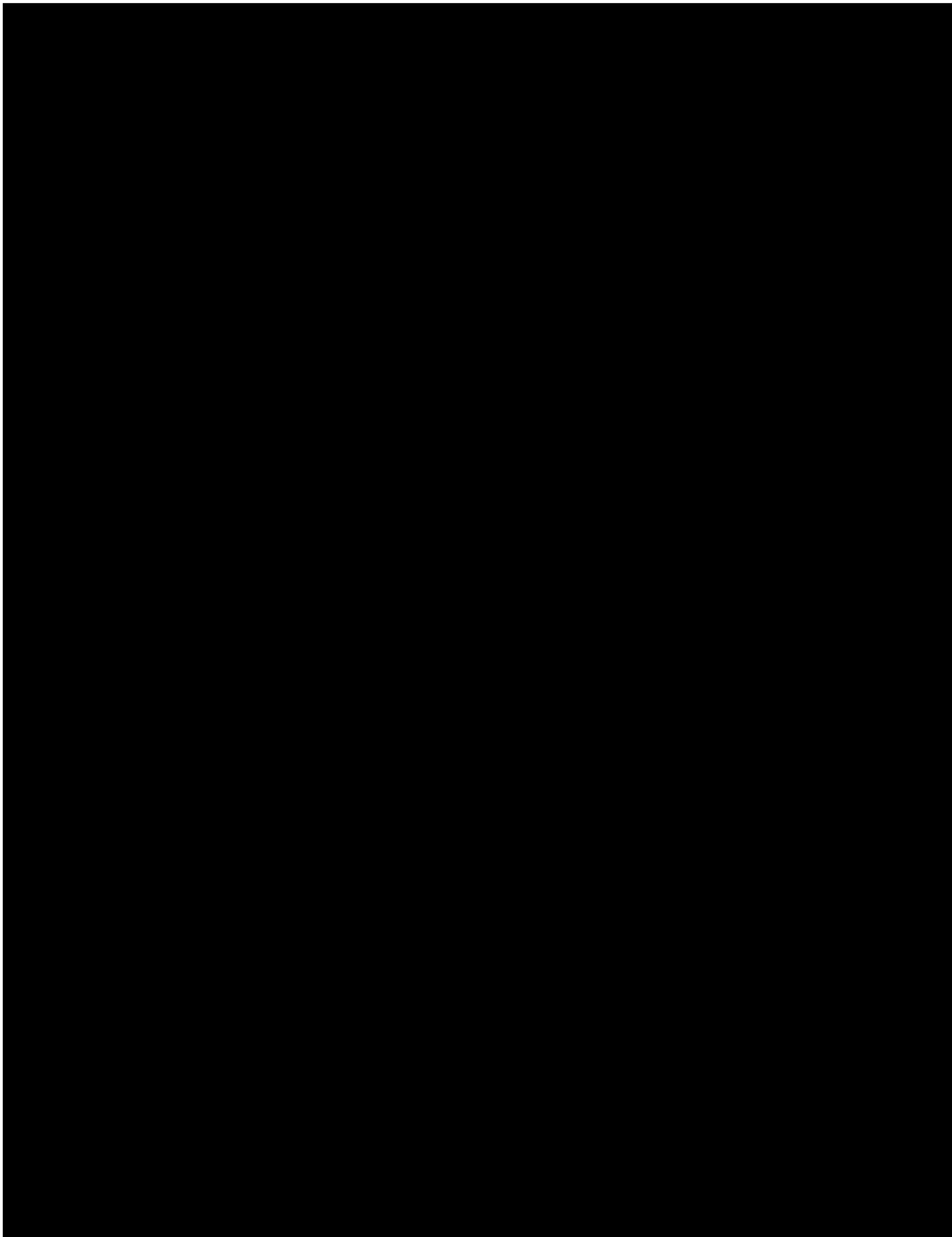


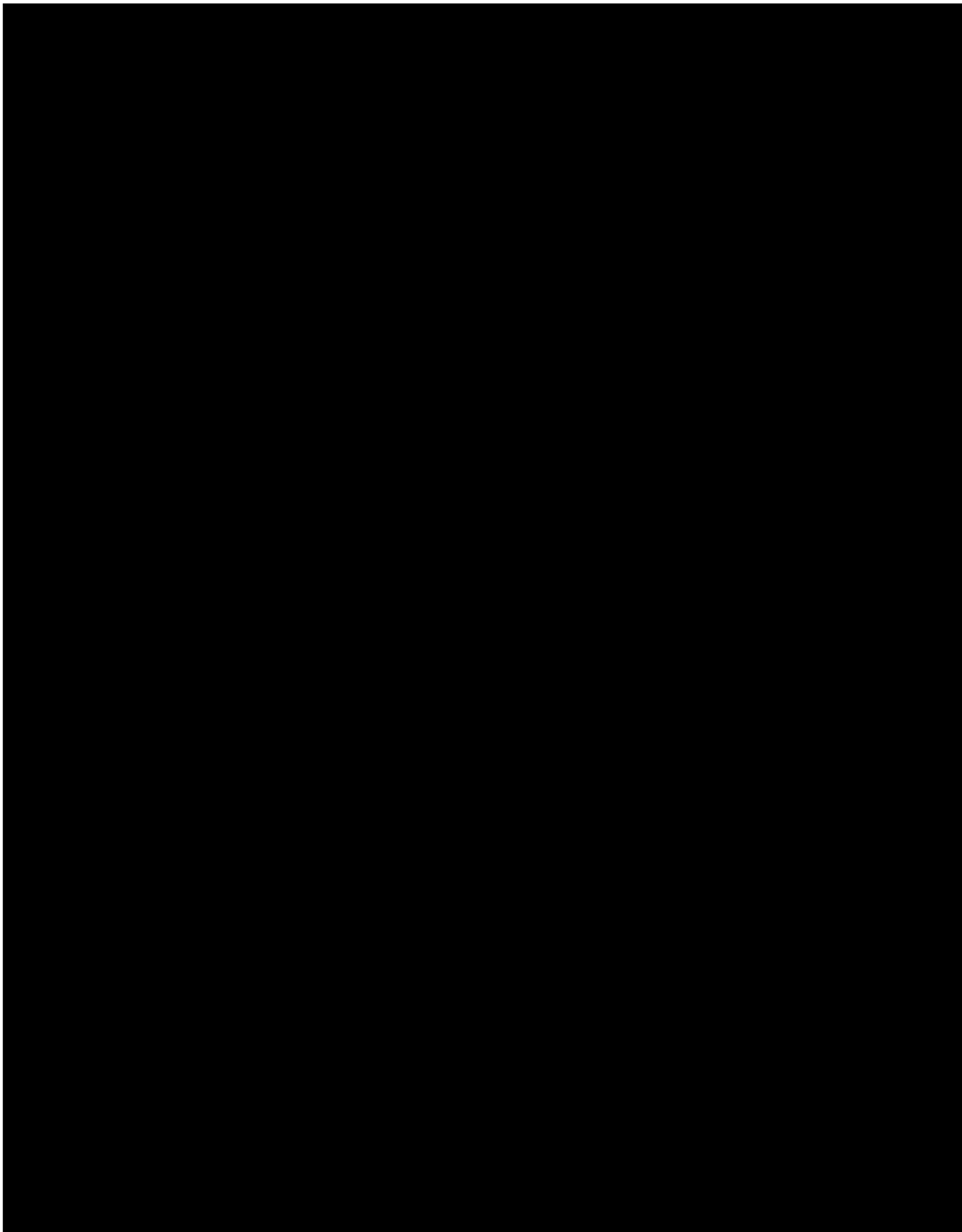
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